

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 TEHRAN 06780 311305Z  
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
-----022557 311308Z /45  
O 311232Z JUL 77  
FM AMEMBASSY TEHRAN  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3809

C O N F I D E N T I A L TEHRAN 6780

EXDIS

E.O.11652: GDS  
TAGS: MASS, IR, US  
SUBJ: AWACS

REF: (A) STATE 177843, (B) TEHRAN 6748

1. SINCE RECEIPT OF REF A, WE HAVE BEEN IN CONSTANT TOUCH WITH GENERAL TOUFANIAN TO TRY TO EXPLAIN STATE OF PLAY WITH RESPECT AWACS. TOUFANIAN, IN TURN, HAS BEEN RECEIVING STEADY DRUMFIRE OF TELEPHONE CALLS FROM SHAH, WHO IS IN HIS CASPIAN VILLA AT NOWSHAHR.

2. FROM OUR READING OF THIS SITUATION, IT IS CLEAR THAT SHAH IS FURIOUS AT DEVELOPMENTS AS HE UNDERSTANDS THEM. HE HAS ORDERED TOUFANIAN TO ANNOUNCE THAT IRAN IS WITHDRAWING ITS LETTER OF INTENT WITH RESPECT AWACS AND TO BEGIN NEGOTIATIONS WITH BRITISH FOR ACQUISITION OF NIMROD.

3. TOUFANIAN STALLED ON THE ANNOUNCEMENT TO THE PRESS ALL AFTER-NOON JULY 30, BUT FINALLY, AFTER BRING EXPLICITLY ORDERED BY THE SHAH, PUT OUT AN "INFORMED SOURCES" STATEMENT WHICH WAS WIDELY BUT VAGUELY CARRIED IN JULY 31 PRESS. STATEMENT INDICATES THAT "IRAN WAS UNLIKELY TO RENEW THE \$1.2 BILLION OFFER AND THAT IF A NEW ONE WERE TO BE MADE, IT WOULD BE CONSIDERED ON ITS MERITS."

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4. TOUFANIAN HAS CALLED IN THE BRITISH TO DISCUSS NIMROD AND WE UNDERSTAND THAT A BRITISH SALES AND DEMONSTRATION TEAM IS CURRENTLY EN ROUTE TO IRAN TO FOLLOW UP THIS INVITATION.

5. AS FOR LETTER OF INTENT, TOUFANIAN HAS DRAFTED A ONE-SENTENCE LETTER STATING THAT IT IS WITHDRAWN AND HAS SHOWN THIS

TO CARMISH. HE IS ATTEMPTING, HOWEVER, TO PERSUADE THE SHAH NOT TO HAVE IT OFFICIALLY DELIVERED. THUS FAR, THE SHAH IS ADAMANT THAT HE MUST HAVE SUCH A "REACTION" IN ORDER TO DEMONSTRATE HIS VEXATION WITH THE CRITICISM DIRECTED AGAINST IRAN, AND, ABOVE ALL HIS ANNOYANCE WITH THE DCI LETTER (LARGE EXCERPTS FROM WHICH HAVE NOW LEAKED TO THE U.S. PRESS). I HAVE SENT TOUFANIAN COPIES OF THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER TO SEN. HUMPHREY, THE HUMPHREY-CASE STATEMENT OF JULY 28 AND THW WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY'S ANNOUNCEMENT ABOUT THE INTENT TO RESUBMIT THE NOTIFICATION OF SALE. I HAVE ASKED TOUFANIAN TO PASS THESE ON TO THE SHAH IN ORDER TO CONVINCE HIM THAT CURRENT DELAY HAS NOT RPT NOT KILLED THE TRANSACTION.

6. IT IS MY HOPE (PROBABLY A VAIN ONE) THAT SHAH WILL PERMIT TOUFANIAN TO SUSPEND ACTION ON WITHDRAWING THE LETTER OF INTENT UNTIL AFTER MY AUGUST 1 AUDIENCE. IF THIS SUSPENSION CAN BE ARRANGED, I WILL AT LEAST HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO EXPLAIN THE STATE OF PLAY AND EXAMINE THE PROSPECTS IN PRAGMATIC TERMS. (THE SHAH SEEMS UNDER THE IMPRESSION THAT A LETTER OF OFFER COULD BE RE-EXTENDED TO IRAN EVEN IF THE LETTER OF INTENT IS WITHDRAWN.) IT IS ALSO POSSIBLE (BUT NOT CERTAIN) THAT THE IMPERIAL IRE WILL HAVE COOLED SOMEWHAT BY THE TIME OF MY AUDIENCE AND WILL PERMIT OUR DISCUSSION TO PROCEED IN SOMEWHAT LESS EMOTIONAL TERMS.

7. FROM OUR CURRENT READING OF EVENTS, HOWEVER, IT LOOKS AS CONFIDENTIAL

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THOUGH THE SHAH IS SO AGGRAVATED BY THIS WHOLE EXERCISE THAT HE IS PREPARED ACCEPT ADVERSE CONSEQUENCES FOR IRAN RATHER THAN PERMIT HIS HONOR AND INTEGRITY TO BE IMPUGNED, AS HE BELIEVES IT HAS BEEN IN RECENT WASHINGTON DEVELOPMENTS.  
SULLIVAN

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## Message Attributes

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**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009